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## A FRIENDLY VISIT

Bogdan CRNOBRNJA

Assistant Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

FOR the second time in the last four years President Tito is visiting some Asian and African countries. On the occasion of his first visit certain circles abroad were surprised at the actual fact that the visit took place, and there were both favourable and unfavourable comments, as well as manifestations of bewilderment and misunderstanding, concerning this step. In many newspapers throughout the world the true fact was often stressed, that „Tito was the first European Head of State to visit India...” The circumstances of this present visit, however are different and — taken in general — much better. It is true that since then many things have happened, important political and other events having occurred in the Afro-Asian region in the meantime. Many respected statesmen

have also paid visits to this part of the world, and the result of all this is an increase in the respect, significance and influence of the Afro-Asian countries regarding international events.

In the last 10 to 15 years there has occurred one of the greatest entries into freedom and independence in the history of the world — that of the many millions of people in Asia and Africa. A new process, which will have ever more influence on the events and history of the world, has begun.

The basic social significance of these changes is the striving for progress. In this sense the changes present a particular type of progressive revolution.

The striving for self-preservation by the further affirmation of national

independence is an essential factor, which acts to a greater or lesser extent on the political scenery of those regions. Because of their internal problems and needs, and because they have only recently gained independence, this striving is of a different intensity than that of many other countries. The masses and the governments consider independence as a basic requirement for progress.

The great need to reduce poverty and misery, to improve the living conditions of the people, is the factor which pre-eminently determines the policy of all responsible governments, both on the internal and the foreign plane. The expression of this need in foreign policy is the desire for peace which, it may be said, means something different and more important to these regions than to others.



Nor does the policy of „semi-peace“, or as it is called nowadays, „cold war“, serve any of the essential needs of these regions. It not only fails to serve them, it actually harms these countries more than it does others, for the countries of Asia and Africa are more vulnerable to the results of this policy than Europe and America. These countries know that it is only through a policy of lasting peace, and without the cold war, that adequate conditions can be created for the gradual overcoming of difficulties, sometimes extremely hard to solve, in their economic and general development.

For these reasons these countries show themselves to be, in the great majority, among the most important and sincere fighters for peace. Probably this is so far the greatest gift which they have been able to offer to humanity in the short period of their existence as independent countries. Their sincere fight for peace is a most significant result of these great progressive changes.

The cold war and the policy of dividing the world into blocs are, for the above reasons, least acceptable to Asia and Africa, and this, indeed, has been shown by their ten years' development. Regarded in the light of the present and future, this fact has been and will continue to be an ever more important factor in relations between countries, and one which will reduce the danger of another war by its very existence. The disengagement of large number of Asian and African countries from blocs is of primary importance to the world. Even to think about the present situation in the world is a reason for keeping peace in the world. Any basic change in this region would shake the existing balance of power in the world and would threaten, if not directly cause, new conflagrations.

Thus the present most practical importance of the freedom from colonialization of a large number of countries with big populations, and their independence from blocs, lies in the fact that it has enabled the greater part of this region to become an active factor in keeping the peace. This region is no longer passive and amorphous — the instrument of other countries' policies — but an independent factor which has its own standpoint, aspirations and aims. It is wrong to call it neutral, as is often done as a re-

sult of the policy of exclusiveness („if they are not with us, they are against us“) for, apart from keeping out of military or political alliances, there is no field of international activity in which these countries do not actively co-operate. The best example of this is the UN. In many cases these countries are more active in the international field than many which are bound to blocs. These countries do not want to be neutral in the classical sense of the word (and this also proves the existence of „positive neutralism“), for their own necessities force them into active but peaceful co-operation with all countries.

So it is with the proclamation of „the policy of a third power“. The aim of the non-bloc countries is, not to form either a first or a third power — or who knows what other power, but to bring about universal and lasting peace.

And in truth, the former aim in present conditions would not be practical, and it is doubtful whether any attempt at its realisation would constitute a contribution to peace.

The proclaimed and adopted policy of active, peaceful co-existence of the non-bloc countries with different social systems itself excludes such an orientation. All these countries are in favour of universal international co-operation, of course on a basis of equality and non-interference. Such a policy has a much wider range than that of a „third power“, for everywhere in the world there are forces which desire peace.

If some sort of balance were struck of the non-bloc policy during the last ten years, it could be said that it has had great results. These regions have witnessed both peace and bloodshed and this has strengthened the non-bloc position of certain countries and widened the non-bloc areas. In many fields on the international plane its useful, strong influence has been felt. The chances for the success of such a policy are much more favorable to-day than they were yesterday, for it has won for its adherents the right to citizenship in the world's community. This does not give grounds for exaggerated optimism, but it certainly encourages a strong belief that this policy is practical and that, even in the difficult situation in which the world finds itself today, it is possible to affirm and strengthen this po-

lity, on condition that it is resolutely and consistently adhered to. The future is on the side of the policy of peaceful co-existence, though occasional difficulties are possible, because the need for it arises from the existing situation in the world. The world tends towards changes, but in the conditions of peace and not war. It is clear that this way is not an easy one, but an easier one does not exist.

The position of Yugoslavia, as a European country, and some of her basic aims, are in many ways identical or similar to those of the non-bloc countries in Asia and Africa. First of all we sincerely desire a lasting peace, we want instead of a policy of cold war sincere and peaceful co-operation and co-existence. These are all conditions which would facilitate our carrying on an independent policy towards the outside world, and the easier and quicker development of our socialistic-democratic social relations inside the country. Though the development of our productive forces has gone ahead in comparison with the development of these countries, still more speedy development is for us the one of the chief aims of our policy.

Thus, the area of our interests and aims is wide. And on this community of interests is built up a high degree of friendship and co-operation. The essential characteristics of this co-operation are as follows:

1. Real abstention from interference in the internal affairs of others. The policy of non-interference is carried out in the fullest sense of the word.

2. Equality in relations. In the last few years practice has confirmed the fact that respect for the principle of equality does not separate peoples, but on the contrary brings them closer together. It should be mentioned in this connection that we are referring to countries geographically distant from each other, with different social systems, and with different cultural and other traditions and habits. By adopting this principle, then, one risks nothing and gains a great deal.

3. A high level of ideological and other tolerance. Though ideological and other differences exist, their existence is such that they are not an obstacle to friendly co-operation. There exists a good-intentioned readiness to exchange experiences in various fields, without any attempt at intrusion.



Both our everyday and long-term relations are based on the viewpoint that every nation is capable of deciding for itself what course its internal development shall take.

4. Our relations are also characterized by the absence of any policy of pressure or threat, of the absence of the conception of countries which should lead and those which should be led, which, nevertheless, does not mean that the role and importance of all countries is „absolutely the same“.

All the above-mentioned principles could be placed under one designation: democratic relations.

In individual bilateral relations, the last years have witnessed a great step forward:

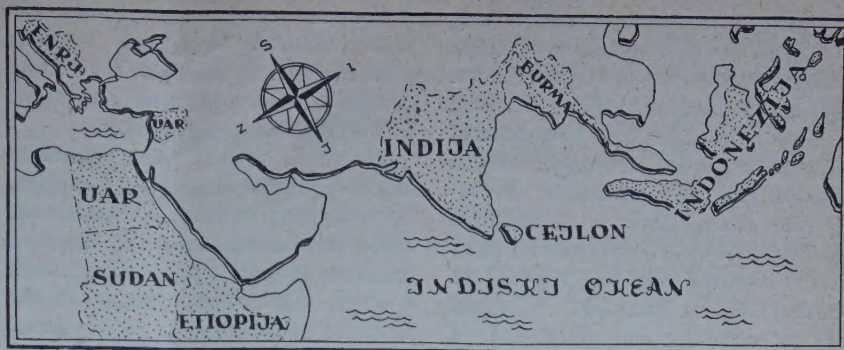
1. Almost regular exchanges of views and consultations on important international problems have become a regular practice. These have been realized by contacts, personal or by means of correspondence, between the highest state officials, or by normal diplomatic relations. Similarity or identity of standpoint has often appeared on many problems vital to the cause of peace, and this is clearly reflected in events in certain parts of the world.

2. Economic co-operation between Yugoslavia and this region has risen significantly. In some specific regions one may already speak about excellent relations, which did not exist a couple of years ago, when trade exchange was nearly zero, while today it reaches tens of millions of dollars. In the forthcoming period a further increase in economic relations may be expected. There are also encouraging results in cultural co-operation.

3. The United Nations is the place where our common interest in many questions with many countries of Asia and Africa is shown. In any action which might lead to the lessening of tension we are almost without exception united, — from the question on disarmament with all its difficult, complicated and varied aspects, to the unsolved colonial and other national, humanitarian problems, and so on.

This year's meeting of the United Nations has perhaps shown best the similarity of our interests and our readiness for common action.

As a rule the non-bloc countries belong to the under-developed regions. The disproportion between the developed and the under-developed, in this



world of inter-dependence, is a grave problem for peace, progress and humanism. Premier Nehru, in one of his recent speeches, refers to it as a greater problem for mankind than the difference between the USSR and the USA.

Such a position, as was said at the beginning of this article, determines the international position of these countries. Accordingly, it is not accidental that most of the new countries, which have been recently born, or are still fighting for independence, wish to stay apart from blocs. Such an international position answers their interests best. Yugoslavia understands this, and conversely, these countries understand our position, and that is

the essential fact concerning the strengthening of friendship between us.

To attack this position is neither popular, nor does it bring lasting results, and it is possible to change it without the risk of war. By far more useful for all without exception, would be a new policy of international co-operation and aid.

The President of Yugoslavia has again gone to pay a friendly visit to these regions. He comes as a sincere friend, and it is no idle boast to say that he well understands the difficulties and aspirations of the millions whose countries he will visit. Let us hope that his visit will contribute, even moderately, to the formation of future relations between the peoples.

## A FRESH STRIDE

Dr. Aleš BEBLER

President of the Federal Assembly's Political Committee for Foreign Affairs

PRESIDENT Tito sailed from Yugoslavia on December 2 for a visit to several countries of Asia and Africa. He will be visiting countries with which Yugoslavia has maintained relations of sincere friendship and economic, cultural and political co-operation for years past. Like Yugoslavia herself, those countries are also deeply devoted to the cause of peace and good-neighbour relations between all countries of the world regardless of their internal organization.

The quintessence of their foreign policy is their not committing themselves to the division of the world today into military blocs. This is what accounts for that firm moral link between them. Much as they have va-

rious problems of their own due to the diversity of the concrete situations in which they find themselves, their non-committal to the blocs provides a duly solid foundation for a constancy in their foreign policy, to wit, a close mutual co-operation of all the non-bloc forces. This is comprehensible too, since each of them finds support among the rest for its extrabloc position.

Co-operation of extrabloc countries is distinguished by complete equality between them. In their co-operation there is no subordination of one country to another, nor precedence between interests. There is no „leading nation“ among them...

It is in the nature of extrabloc po-



licy that it is simultaneously a non-bloc policy, which means two things.

First, co-operation of extrabloc countries cannot assume the form of a new, a third bloc. The deep reasons that have caused those countries not to join the existing blocs are at the same time causing them to refrain from creating a bloc of their own. If their policy were the opposite it would be undermining its own self. It would lose its moral foundation because in such a case it would be contributive to a further splitting of the world into blocs.

And second, which issues from the first and is based on the same deep reasons, the extrabloc countries are acting against a division of the world into blocs, that is to say, the blocs now existing. Such an action, and such an action alone, is consonant with their extrabloc position, for this is the only possible reaction of any extrabloc country to the atmosphere created by the present division of the world into blocs.

It is in the logic of bloc policy, namely, that it regards non-adherence to a bloc as a sin or even betrayal of the one or the other bloc, depending on which of the two blocs might be hoping — for any reason, on account of social structure for example — that some country would belong to it. For, the substance of bloc policy is rivalry, and this means striving for a maximum strength and scope of either bloc.

Considering that the division of the world into blocs and their rivalry constitute the principal and most direct source of international tensions, and by that token of war danger, it follows from the above that the extrabloc countries play a great political role in the world today. They are a factor of mitigation of the bloc passions, a factor of convergence between all nations, large and little, be they outside of blocs or incorporated into them, be they having the one or the other kind of internal organization.

Their very existence is proof that inclusion into blocs is not inevitable or indispensable. It is evidence that even little or relatively weak countries economically and politically can prosper without the „protection“ of one of the blocs, the „protection“ of the great powers heading those blocs. It testifies to a possibility of the world's division into blocs disappearing some day, in our time...

We are never able to thresh out those questions with our „critics“ from the East to the end. They either cannot or do not want to grasp some, in our opinion, simple points.

We wrote in these same columns a month ago that „the bloc struggle, the struggling of one bloc against the other, be it conducted in the name of socialism or that of peace, cannot lead a single step further whether in the direction of socialism or in the direction of peace. It can only perpetuate the present bloc division and international tensions, acting as a durable brake on human progress thereby“.

This assertion had prompted Radio Moscow to make the following retort in its programme of November 23 this year: „While they are rightly condemning the division of the world into blocs, the Yugoslav newspapers and magazines are drawing a wrong conclusion therefrom. They are equating the camp of socialist countries with a military bloc, which is entirely wrong. The Yugoslav newspaper „Borba“ and the periodical „Review of International Affairs“ wrote recently that struggle for bloc positions, irrespective of whether it is conducted in the name of socialism or that of peace, cannot ensure a single stride in the direction of peace. From this it follows that the policy of the countries of the socialist camp, the policy of their Communist Parties, reputedly fails to ensure a single step forward toward peace. It is unnecessary to go into a detailed refutation of such assertions. It only suffices to mention that it is exclusively the resolute attitude of U.S.S.R., of the whole socialist camp as well as all honest people in the world that has saved the world from the disaster toward which it was being pushed by the aggressive forces of U.S.A. and other capitalist countries. As you remember, that was during the American-British aggression in Lebanon and Jordan and during the aggressive action of U.S.A. against the People's Republic of China in the Taiwan area“.

Intentionally or unintentionally, the author of those lines was confusing the issue in such a measure that in the end the listener failed to understand whether those he was representing were for or against the bloc division of the world, whether they consider that one should work or not against such a division — which in fact is the essence of the issue. First

he said that it is right to condemn the division of the world into blocs, and immediately afterwards that the socialist camp is no bloc at all, which means that the world was not divided into blocs either (since in such a case there is a single bloc, the Western Bloc, left), and then he added that struggle from bloc positions is leading not a step further toward peace because — the socialist camp has foiled the breakout of war in such and such concrete instances. And this last means that the socialist camp is a bloc, after all, and that its policy from a bloc position still leads a step further, considering which a division of the world into blocs is not such a bad proposition either...

Of course, it is irrelevant whether such a confusion is deliberate or not. To us, it appears to stem from the contradiction between a bloc policy and a policy of co-existence, a deeply rooted contradiction. Incidentally, those roots, too, want a close inspection for once. However, to avoid such a digression, we shall only establish that these two elements exist parallelly in the foreign policy of the Eastern camp, and in the foreign policy of U.S.S.R. in the first place.

A bloc policy, a policy from bloc positions, is manifest in such phenomena as the present pressure on Yugoslavia, in the campaign against her reputed revisionism, which is only another expression for her extrabloc position. A policy of co-existence, on the other hand, is manifest in such moves like the discontinuance of atomic tests had been and in a series of other moves.

In establishing the parallel existence of these two elements, we underline that condemnation of the world division into blocs inevitably amounts to condemnation of those elements in Soviet foreign policy which reveal a bloc character. These elements are not conducive to a single fresh stride in the direction of peace. More than that, they are handicapping the efficaciousness of those other elements too, the elements of co-existence. They afford arguments to the opponents of co-existence of rejecting the positive offers and proposals of U.S.S.R. They are even restricting the very policy of co-existence to a policy of co-existence of blocs, and this unavoidably boils down but to a policy of temporary calm, truce, a rickety



peace, a peace that wants propping up all the time.

A fresh stride toward peace means, to us and to anyone seeking a durable peace, another step away from the present calm, truce and rickety peace in the direction of such a stable peace in which there will be no armaments race and no danger from the outbreak of a world conflict, and this means in the direction of disappearance of blocs. A policy of co-existence of blocs, i. e., freezing of the present condition, is not conducive to such a

goal, but a policy of transcendence of the bloc division, a policy leading out of the vicious circle of bloc rivalries.

It is, in fact, to such a policy that the present visit of the Yugoslav President to the extrabloc countries of Asia and Africa is dedicated. As such, this visit is rendering a service not only to the extrabloc countries and their mutual understanding and co-operation, but to the cause of peace at large.

The function of extrabloc countries in the solving of international que-

stions has grown a great deal in the last years. Co-operating ever more closely, especially in the United Nations, with their joint efforts on a series of issues, they have made a substantial contribution to general international accord and an easing of the present tensions.

A fresh stride in their mutual understanding and co-operation, which is what this visit of our President is certain to mean, will therefore also constitute a fresh stride in the direction of a constant and stable peace.

## Indonesia's Position

M. SUDARSONO

The Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia in Yugoslavia

**I**NDONESIA'S position in the world has since the proclamation of Independence in 1945, August — changed several times, by changes in the world itself and by changes in the country.

Immediately after the war, she had only little time to consolidate all the nationalist forces for the establishment and strengthening of the new born State.

Allied occupying forces, under British command — the Dutch were completely dependent on the British on those days in that area — arrived already in September 1945 in Tandjong Priok, the harbour of Djakarta.

Confronted with a whole nation in revolution, on one side and the demand of the Dutch to come back and reinstall its colonial administration, the British arranged a *modus vivendi* in working its plans in the fulfillment of its duties: the evacuation of the Japanese Army, which for a great part was already disarmed by the Indonesian „armed forces of security“.

Clashes were inevitable, mostly between the Dutch contingent of the Allied Forces and the Indonesians, but clashes with the British were not rare too and heavy losses were suffered on both sides.

These losses were not very favourable for the then British Government in view of the situation in Britain itself, which demands the immediate return of the boys — and in view of the situation in India — the still undivided, Burma and other British colonies.

An agreement was managed between the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia, the so-called Lingardjati agreement, 1947, recognizing the *de facto* Government in Djokjakarta.

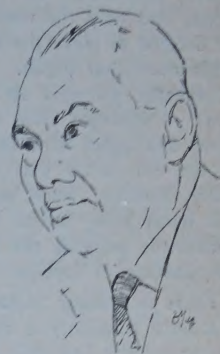
Since then however the world situation has changed, the Western countries have decided to go together, not only in facing the growing influence of Communism and that of Soviet Russia in Western Europe, but also in „handling“ the demand for independence in Asian countries.

The United States and her allies looked at the „Indonesian Problem“ through Dutch colonial glasses.

We had to defend ourselves — badly equipped as we were — in a full-pledged colonial war, in 1947, only a few months after the signing of above mentioned agreement; and again late in 1948, just after the revolt of the Communist in Madiun has crippled our young state. These two wars of aggression in trying to reinstall an outmoded colonial administration, aroused world public opinion: the „New Delhi Conference on Indonesia“ contributed much to warning the Netherlands and their more powerful allies, against continuation of such acts.

Just after one year of this second war, the Netherlands have agreed formally to transfer their sovereignty. They did it at the beginning of 1950, while ensuring for themselves some „safeguards“ for their economic interest in Indonesia; in case: e. g. „the transfer of West Irian only after discussion within one year“.

There were other „safeguards“ but we accepted the agreements concluded at the Round Table Conference; because we thought that these agreements could be a workable base for further development of the economy of our country and to further strengthen our independence.



**I**T IS SAID that Indonesia has enormous resources. The results in economic development so far are not satisfactory.

Rome, they say, was not built in one day. We certainly will not put all the blame to others, by saying that centuries of colonialism in Indonesia did not contribute very much to the development of the country and for the benefit of the people.

However — there were several times — „meddling“ in our affairs from outside which certainly hampered us in building up the country: the attempt to kill members of the cabinet in 1950, the proclamation of the so called „Republic of the South Molucca's not to speak about the „Interference“ during the revolt at the beginning of this year.

Economically: there were many strings with the Netherlands and other European countries: Netherlands Banks and other economic organisations have established their branches in Djakarta and other places, taking part in the production, sale of oil, rubber and all other important products and in the distribution of practically all imported goods.

The building-up of national enterprises, is therefore confronted with these vested foreign interests. There is a head-long, frontal clash between our national and the Netherlands economic interests in Indonesia.

To make this point more clear: foreign trade, ocean shipping and the major part of internal shipping were practically controlled by foreign firms, in case Dutch



firms. That big is really foreign economic interests in Indonesia.

Unfortunately or fortunately: the problem of West Irian being one of the „safeguards“ for Dutch interests — became the point of touch — and so far remain under Dutch occupation and thus enhanced national sentiments.

These contradictions have made our people only more desirous to gain economic strength, to achieve not only formal political equality, but also to have the material bases for it and full independence West Irian.

More than five years negotiations and several discussions in the international forum, had only the result of separation: we decided to leave the so called Netherlands-Indonesian Union.

Repeated attempts to resume negotiations — attempts from our side — met again and again with failure. We came to the conclusion that economic cooperation between such opposing partners will never bring us far and recently our Parliament adopted the Bill on the nationalisation of foreign enterprises.

There is another factor of importance: Indonesia is mainly a raw material producing country and with others of the same category, failed in „securing for itself „constant“ and „real and normal prices“ for its products, the reason being that the so called „Free World“ has no free market. In expecting the cold-war to continue, the most important Western countries, are directing their tariff policy towards „securing the supply of raw materials at the lowest prices possible“.

Besides the prices have been oscillating a great deal and these oscillations on a low level have made it almost impossible for the underdeveloped countries to execute their economic plans: they are dependent on the sales of these goods.

The internal scene is of a different nature: one of the important factor here is rather grim: the overpopulation of the island of Java. More than two-third of the total population lives on this island: more than fifty million, creating the usual set of problems of overpopulation, such as small, uneconomical holdings of land (average half an acre).

Besides it has a particular consequence: because the electoral system is based on more or less proportional representation, more than half of the members of Parliament come from this island. And this „ill — distribution“ of seats in Parliament, and so of power, may offer a fertile ground for evil counsels, as was the case of „meddling in our internal affairs“ both in the Molucca affair as well as in recent revolt in the beginning of this year.

It has endangered the unity of our State!

Here external forces meet internal forces.

And how is Indonesia to meet the political and economic strategy of the two blocs?

From the above the conclusion can be drawn that Indonesia is a typical picture of a new-borne nation after the war, Nationalism is a very important force and the desire for economic development, to raise standard of living, for material equality with Western nations to strengthen their independence, is dominant, whatever evidences there are of discord internally.

Privileged positions of foreigners in whatever field, are seen as causes of backwardness and poverty of the country: as colonialism or as its remnants.

So are all acts and pronouncements of people associating themselves with Dutch occupation of West Irian.

That nationalism and that dominant desire to achieve not only formal equality, but real equality on a high standard of living, are the main forces in meeting the policies of all blocs. No wonder that the Bandung Conference was inspired by that same spirit

For Indonesia the best road towards prosperity, towards economic development, is the road to stable peace. To achieve this goal, one has to be active. One should not meddle in the internal affairs of others, respect each others integrity and adopt this attitude regardless of one's neighbour's political or social system. Precisely the principles of Yugoslavia's foreign policy. But why wonder?

Similar histories of the two nations have produced the same desires and aspirations, similar attitudes towards the world, towards relations with other countries.

And the hardships of present day world politics brought forth similar attitudes towards the blocs:

forming of blocs or strengthening blocs is not favourable for stable peace. Besides: bloc alignment may endanger the hard-won independence. One should be active in lessening tensions, which are inevitably popping up between the blocs.

FROM THE ABOVE is clear that Indonesia needs economic aid: it is more than just economic aid without political strings, it is to transform the economic structure which is so weak vis a vis the industrialized countries, into a dynamic one, suitable for advance by itself. Aid should not be accepted on a certain understanding of each others policy, compromise, between the donor and the receiver, but on the idea that everybody will profit from the gain of one of all, that the world in general has a common interest in the advance of all and that retarded progress in one area can only create serious tensions.

It is the belief of Indonesia that such aid is necessary and that all countries of both blocs should realize that such aid is imperative.

## Letters

### „A View of Latin America“

In a previous issue the „Review of International Affairs“ published an article by Aleš Bebler, Chairman of the Foreign Political Committee of the Federal People's Assembly, entitled „A View of Latin America“. In that article Comrade Bebler formulated some of his impressions and observations gathered during his visit to Latin America as chief of the Yugoslav delegation to the Interparliamentary Union conference.

We are now publishing a letter received by Comrade Bebler from His Excellency Enrico Bernstein, Chilean Ambassador to Beograd, in connection with the above-mentioned article. Mr Bernstein agreed with Comrade Bebler that it would be interesting to publish his letter also in the „Review of International Affairs“, as it contains many interesting observations and taken together with Comrade Bebler's article, would give readers of the „Review of International Affairs“ a more comprehensive and complete idea of the contemporary problems of Latin America.

Dear Mr. Bebler

In connection with the pleasant conversation we had a few days ago, I would like to state my personal impressions concerning the article on Latin America you wrote for the „Review of International Affairs“, after your trip to the countries of Latin America.

I am fully aware of the difficulties you encountered in formulating your impressions of countries you visited for the first time, within the limited framework of a brief article. It is probably for this reason, and to avoid possible criticism, that you modestly entitled your article „A View of Latin America“. We have suffered a great deal on our continent from foreign visitors



who, having spent three or four days in Latin America, permit themselves the luxury of writing whole books teeming with factual errors and prejudices. If any continent was ever presented in a distorted light by passing visitors, it is surely Latin America.

You, on the contrary, have reached very correct conclusions. You have noticed that Latin America is becoming increasingly aware of its enormous resources, often inadequately utilised or wholly untapped, and that it needs foreign immigrants, as its soil is capable of supporting a population four or five times as large as its present one. You have also discerned our need for technical assistance in some branches, and our capacity of offering such assistance in other branches, and you have also correctly observed the firm resolution of the Latin American countries to cease to be mere producers of raw materials and begin processing their staple products themselves, this being the only way to raise the standard of living of the people, and to save foreign exchange, whose shortage constitutes a major difficulty in this respect. Owing to the adoption of this policy the much needed foreign capital has been placed under control, while investments are being carried out according to plan.

All this is true and I have no reason to dispute it. On the contrary I congratulate you on your careful observation.

But as an exacting reader I would like you to understand some other phenomena that are also taking place on our continent, such as the latent feeling of unity which characterizes public opinion in the countries you visited. Today as never before perhaps, Latin America has the desire to unite economically and culturally. I am well aware that this idea has not received the attention it deserves from

most of the governments concerned. But it exists nonetheless, and has acquired immense popularity among all strata of the people. The recognition of the fact that twenty isolated countries cannot fight for their economic independence and social welfare, and that such a struggle requires a common effort, is the most interesting phenomenon that has been manifested in Latin America during the past ten years. Public opinion in all these countries demands that an end be put once for all to the high-sounding phrases which have been heard for all too long, and that words be replaced by deeds. This is why the idea of a common market was imposed upon the governments. This idea is not the result of united diplomatic efforts, but of the demands and pressure of Latin American public opinion.

I would also have liked to learn your impressions on a phenomenon you could not have failed to notice during your visit, namely the keen interest that exists in Latin America in internal and foreign political developments in Europe and Asia, in their social and cultural progress, and in similar developments in other parts of the world. When I think of the four or five pages the daily press of my country devotes to foreign affairs, when I remember the bookstores in Chile (and the other countries you visited) full of foreign books, reviews and papers, when I read our richly documented „Parlement des Debats“ on problems which are geographically remote but which we feel very closely, I cannot help feeling that this fact is worth mentioning, and therefore take the liberty of making a friendly protest against its omission in your article.

Lastly, I should have liked to know your ideas and impressions concerning the feeling of independence that prevails in our country. We have all too often been

represented as a continent subjected to foreign capitals (especially one in particular). Nothing could be farther from the truth. There certainly exists economic ties — although less binding perhaps than those sometimes found in Europe — but they are devoid of any major influence on our way of thought and action, especially in the countries you visited. I am convinced that this feeling of independence, which is one of the salient features of our character, could not have passed unnoticed.

This is what I think your excellent article lacked in order to be complete.

There is another point on which I do not agree with your conclusions. You mention a certain degree of introversion among the Latin American countries, and conclude therefrom that they should not be expected to assume overnight the international political role that they deserve. I consider, on the contrary, that we are rapidly approaching the moment when Latin America will begin playing its role in the international sphere. This depends only on the force with which public opinion will impose its will on the over-cautious policy which is still being pursued by some governments. So you see, our views on the matter differ. And as it is a question of prediction of the future, we do not know which one of us is right. It may easily happen that I am wrong and that you are the better observer. It may be that I am guilty of wishful thinking, which is quite often the case, all the more so as I am convinced that Latin America, in the role of mediator, could make a significant contribution to world peace.

Please accept the assurance of my high-dear Mr Bebler. Do not forget that it was you who requested me to write it.

Please accept the assurance of my highest regard and sincere friendship.

Enrique BERNSTEIN

## VIEWS AND OPINIONS

# OPERATION BERLIN

Dr. Mladen IVEKOVIĆ

THE NOTE of the Soviet Government of November 27 this year proposing negotiations to the Western powers regarding the granting of the status of a demilitarized and free city to West Berlin has initiated and actualized the whole set of problems which have determined the relations between the East and West for years after the Second World War. It is difficult to imagine, namely, that the question of the status of the city of Berlin could be divorced from the fact that two separate German states, with different social systems, had been

created on German soil which the post-war development and bloc division had caused to be incorporated into two opposed alliances. Although this development has even been contrary to the clauses of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements and other conclusions of the Allies, to shut one's eyes to the above fact alone would be tantamount to evasion of every possibility of a peaceful accord, it would be utterly unrealistic politically and would tend toward a further and ever-larger strain over one of the biggest international issues.



These days, after the mentioned Soviet Note, Potsdam has been much in evidence in the declarations of statesmen and in the press. The Soviet Note also makes detailed references to it, arguing that its clauses have been exceeded by the very policy of the Western powers as well as the formation of two separate German states. Here it is not a question of whether it is the acts of the one or the other side that have conduced to a condition which actually strongly diverges from the Potsdam principles from 1945. But when the Soviet Government asserts in its Note that, out of all the Allied agreements from that period, *only one* is still observed today — the Agreement on the so-called quadrilateral status of Berlin — then this finding is accurate in the largest measure. So, if the Western Allies are invoking Potsdam today, together with the Bonn Government circles which are bitterly complaining about the Soviet „betrayal“, warning that the Soviet Government cannot secure release from its obligations by a one-sided decision, then it would be necessary to know, first of all, how much of that Agreement is still effective. What remains effective at all of the Allied wartime and post-war agreements relating to Germany?

If we wanted briefly to characterize the Potsdam Agreement of August 2, 1945, we would have to establish that it had mainly reaffirmed and expanded the fundamental principles which had been adopted by the Allies at the Yalta Conference, in February, 1945, before the capitulation of Germany. It had been decided in Yalta to divide Germany into three zones of occupation (France came in later on with a fourth zone), to exercise supreme authority in such a Germany by way of a central *Control Council* made up of the three, and subsequently four (the French), commanders in chief of the Great Powers, with headquarters in Berlin. With this Yalta had confirmed the occupation status of Germany which had been worked out previously by the so-called European Advisory Commission in London, and the foundations of a *disunited Germany* had already been laid thereby. The Yalta conclusions have actually represented the base for all joint Allied measures, for the entire policy of the victorious Great Powers toward Germany after her capitulation.

Potsdam had codified the Yalta principles, proclaiming that the occupation powers did not intend to destroy and enslave the German people but to offer it a possibility to rebuild its country and life on democratic and peaceful bases. The Potsdam clauses emphasized the principle that the German population must be subject to *uniform* treatment in all the four zones. Potsdam had wholly taken over the Yalta decisions about the demilitarization and disarmament of Germany, the elimination of war industry, the annihilation of Nazism (MSDAP) and the abolition of its legislation, the imprisonment and internment of Nazi leaders and war criminals, the ban of every fascist and militarist activity and propaganda and so on. Broken up into four occupation zones, Germany, according to Potsdam, was to have been treated as one *economic whole*. The economic bases of German militarism were to have been destroyed by disbanding cartels, trusts and monopolist associations. In all the zones, for example, there were to have been pursued completely identical and coordinated measures concerning mining and production, agriculture, wages, prices and rationing, imports and exports, currency and banking, tax and customs, reparations, the functioning of transport, information service. According to Potsdam, the aim of the Allied supreme control was to satisfy the needs of occupation and safeguard an *even distribution* of important commodities in all the zones, to promote a balanced economy. The Agreement had provided for the setting up of central German administrative organs. There were many other clauses, too, regulating the life of occupied Germany, split into four occupation zones each with its own commander in chief. Supreme authority over the whole of Germany had been vested in the Control Council, made up of the four chief commanders, who could

pass only unanimous decisions, meaning that each commander had the *right of veto*.

We have no reasons at all to defend, much less glorify, the decisions from Yalta and Potsdam. On the contrary, we consider that just some of those conclusions, by representing the basis of a joint policy of the four great occupation powers toward a defeated Germany, have actually led to the present difficult condition of disunion and tensions in Western Europe, that they have considerably influenced the deterioration of relations between U.S.S.R. and the three Western powers. At one time certain of our reservations toward those conclusions were also openly expressed by our highest-ranking state leaders.

However, it is an irrefutable fact that, soon after Potsdam, the events in occupied Germany started to assume a trend opposite to that determined by the Agreement. It became apparent that — under the conditions of the aspirations of both the ones and the others to consolidate or even expand their military, political and economic positions captured in wartime — the solemn compacts and proclamations about a uniform policy in an occupied country like Germany had become untenable. Those compacts were repudiated both-sidedly. A year after the occupation the four zones came to make up *hermetically sealed areas* between which there was practically no free exchange of goods, populations and ideas. Germany was made up of four separate economies mutually communicating on a contract basis. There could be no question of a unified economic whole or a common financial policy. Export licenses had been introduced for nearly every commodity leaving the individual occupation zones. And on top of everything, the border between the Soviet Zone, or the eastern part of Germany, and the three Western occupation zones was being closed more and more so that, ultimately, barbed wire on that demarcation line came to mark, both symbolically and factually, the boundary between the East and West, between two antagonistic blocs.

So, what else could have remained in force out of Yalta, Potsdam and the other decisions of the occupation powers in Germany after the events which led to the formation of the West German state and government in Bonn, and then to an East German state (DDR) and government in the Soviet Occupation Zone? The Government and State of the Federal Republic of Germany were founded on September 12, 1949, and on May 26, 1952 the so-called *German Agreement* was signed between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Western powers abolishing the occupation status and incorporating the Federal Republic of Germany into the Western military, economic and political system and making her an equal member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Creation of an East German state, the Democratic Republic of Germany, and the *Warsaw Pact*, which also includes the Democratic Republic of Germany, has represented a logical consequence and a natural reaction of U.S.S.R. to the policy of the Western powers referred to above. The incorporation of Western Germany into the Western military alliance, the establishment of a new West German Army with the latest, even atomic, armament — to mention but these elements of a new European great power on the rise — definitely had nothing to do with the Potsdam clauses. Of course, the developments in East Germany as well which took place after the mentioned events in the West, and in consequence of them, had indicated already then that the Potsdam clauses had become only a dead letter.

The quadrilateral Control Council, practically speaking, has long since become inoperative and all that still survives of the Potsdam and the earlier agreement, of September 12, 1944, regarding the occupation zones in Germany and the administration of „Grater Berlin“ are the remnants of a chip-ped-off quadrilateral status of the city of Berlin. We say



chipped-off status because, for a full ten years already, there has been no integrated city administration in Berlin either, such a condition having prevailed, in fact, ever since November 30, 1948, when a new city administration was established in East Berlin, with Fritz Ebert at its head. Contrary to the Allied decisions that Berlin shall be unified and independent from the occupation zones, unity had been broken up as long ago as 1948. Since that time the city has been divided into two parts: West Berlin and East Berlin.

At the same time one should not overlook that the famous Soviet blockade of the city of Berlin from 1948, references to which have been revived today in connection with the latest Soviet move, had actually stood for the U.S.S.R.'s answer to the moves of the Anglo-American military authorities in Western Germany who, by merging their occupation zones into an integrated bizonal administration, and subsequently by the currency reform, which ultimately was extended to West Berlin also, had adopted a course toward the formation of a West German Government already then. Herein lay the motives of the more and more open tension between the three Western occupation powers and U.S.S.R. None the less, when the events from the time of the Berlin blockade are evoked today in the West, it is preferred to forget that the Western powers had answered the Berlin blockade by organizing a counter-blockade of West German goods intended for Eastern Germany. The whole railway and river traffic between Western Europe and the Soviet zone had been stopped. General Clay, who at that time also acted as General Eisenhower's deputy in Germany (1945-49), writes in his memoirs (*"Decision in Germany"*) that this Western blockade had far worse consequences for Eastern Germany than the Berlin blockade had for the West. Of course, at this moment, for ourselves, those matters would lack a special interest if they did not document an ever-larger gulf in the conceptions, plans and policies of the Allies, who according to the letter and spirit of the agreements concluded, were to have pursued a common, unified policy in occupied Germany. How deep that gulf was at the time of the blockade, and how it gave to the clash more and more the character of a struggle between two social systems, is best demonstrated by an excerpt from a cable Gen. Clay sent to his ministry on April 10, 1948 (see *"Decision in Germany"*).

"We have lost Czechoslovakia. Norway hovers in danger. We are leaving Berlin. If Berlin falls, Western Germany will come next. If we intend to save Europe from Communism, we must not budge... If we leave, we shall jeopardize our European position. If America does not understand it now, if it does not realize that the die is cast, it will never reach this realization, and Communism will overtake everything... I consider that the future of democracy bids us to remain in Berlin..."

Since then a full ten years have elapsed which have brought a whole range of major changes, as referred to above. We believe those changes to have been such as to preclude a return to 1948 in any form. Fresh paths have to be sought for a solution of the impasse in which all the former great Allies have found themselves.

In its Note the Soviet Government voiced its readiness to start negotiations with the Western powers toward granting the status of a demilitarized and free city to West Berlin. More than that, it reaffirmed its readiness to negotiate also concerning the wider aspects of the German question, specifically, concerning preparations for a Peace Treaty with Germany — with the qualification that non-existence of a Peace Treaty cannot serve for an extension of the occupation status (of Berlin).

Consistently with the attitudes adopted by our country also on the occasion of the two Geneva conferences from 1955, when the representatives of the four great powers, meeting at the summit and at the level of foreign ministers, last met to negotiate on the German question and the question of

European security in general, we consider that the stated Soviet proposal, too, opens possibilities of fresh contacts and discussions regarding matters which might contribute to a solution not only of the question of the status of Berlin, but the German question. We do not aver that the German question has matured for settlement just at this moment. No. But we do affirm that there are objective conditions for proceeding already now to solutions in Europe which would facilitate and prepare the way for agreement in due course.

In this context, in our opinion, it would be utterly unrealistic to approach the problem of Berlin and Germany from the position upon which the West has insisted thus far, disregarding the changes which have substantially changed the face of the split Germany. But it is just this course that the Bonn Government circles are tenaciously steering in an effort to win over their Western Allies for their thesis even more solidly. If, even in this latest denouement about Berlin, the three Western powers were to remain on the said Bonn positions, the positions, that is, that the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is the sole and exclusive representative of the Germans, that the East German Republic is but a phantom artificially and forcibly upheld by U.S.S.R., and that the Soviet proposal is to be turned down outright, then Europe might find herself confronting a grave new crisis. And this cannot be in the interest of the great Western powers, nor of other European countries, since a fresh strain on that extremely delicate area, on which the forces of the two opposed military alliances are in most direct contact, might turn into an irreparable conflict.

We believe that it would not be politically wise and far-seeing, indeed, that it would be unrealistic in the highest degree, if the Western powers cherished the risky idea that the Soviet Union was incapable of handing over "one-sidedly" to the East German Government its controlling functions deriving from the occupation status of Berlin and withdrawing its troops from East Berlin. From everything that has been said above clearly follows the international-legal logic of the issue: the Soviet Union no longer considers itself committed to the agreements and decisions which had regulated the occupation relations in Germany and Berlin. In its Note the Soviet Government speaks in very plain language regarding its plans in Berlin; unless the Western powers accept the offer of negotiations, the Soviet Union will implement the envisaged measures in agreement with the Democratic Republic of Germany.

In 1948, at the time of the Berlin blockade and the famous air lift, the factor of Democratic Republic of Germany did not exist yet. Just because of this, we consider in fact today, after ten years of an abnormal condition in the city of Berlin, it is impossible reasonably to calculate with a duplication of the events from 1948. An attempted return to 1948 by the Western powers would mean a dangerous adventure with unforeseeable consequences. In our opinion, the positions of the three Western powers in West Berlin represent no military-strategic asset of any import. But, as a psychological asset in the cold war, the positions represent a very important stronghold both for the three Western powers and the Bonn Government (in the first place for the last!). For this very reason, it might be extraordinarily important to reappraise, in the interests of relaxing tensions and in the interests of peace, the dubious benefits from such a state of affairs in that part of the world. We believe, then, that those powers ought to accept the Soviet offer of negotiations.

In 1954 in Berlin, and in 1955 in Geneva, the then British Minister Eden, discussing the German question with his colleagues, had come out with his plan of a so-called "rarefied zone" in Europe. The Soviet Union had come up in Ge-



neva with its project of agreement on collective security in Europe. It was a question then of finding a solution for the German question, for German unification. The developments and the diametrically opposed attitudes of the negotiators on the fundamental principles of German unification had revealed that the indispensable conditions for settlement of this question in its totality had not matured yet. Perhaps the moment has come just now to proceed to new, less pretentious, more realistic negotiations between the West and East and just in conjunction with the latest proposal of the Soviet Union. When we mentioned above the possible solutions in Europe which would be apt to facilitate subsequent agreement on such a complicated question as that of Germany, then we

primarily had in mind the seeking out of solutions such as, for example, the creating of a non-atomic zone in Europe and reduction of conventional armament in that zone, the stopping of nuclear explosions, the reaching of a preliminary agreement on the future military status of a unified Germany. Of course, none of this should exclude the possibility, either, of putting on the agenda of such a new conference of high-ranking representatives of the West and East also the question of the conclusion of a Peace Treaty with Germany. But we believe that those "marginal" questions referred to above, which also include the status of Berlin, afford the best and the most practical way toward starting negotiations also on the biggest issue of all — the German question.

## Legal Aspects of Space

Dušan MILANKOVIĆ

THE development of science and technology has enabled Man to extend his activities beyond the sphere of our planet, and to launch man-made devices into space. Although we have made only the initial steps towards the conquest of outer space, the successes achieved so far indicate that the technical problems have been more or less overcome. But other problems, of a legal and political nature, pertaining to the regulation of human activities in cosmic space, are still awaiting a solution. The prospects of human travel in the cosmos, and especially the initial successes achieved, have prompted many jurists and juridical organizations in the world to begin the study of the legal aspects of space. Yugoslav jurists are also dealing with this problem, and their studies mainly evolve within the framework of the Yugoslav Association for International Law.

In this field the jurists are confronted by an entirely new problem, for which no legal prescriptions have been presented as yet. The situation is, to a certain extent, similar to that which prevailed at the beginning of this century, when the first successful flight was made by heavier-than-air machines, and when it was necessary to lay down the fundamental principles and formulate the rules that subsequently developed into the Air Law. Today many jurists are seeking an analogy between air law and the future space law. In my opinion, the analogy can only be applied with regard to the general legal principles, while the rules for outer space should be completely new, not only because of the novelty of the matter, but also because of the essential difference between vehicles propelled by the aerodynamic force of air (airplanes) and those lighter than air (balloons), as the motion of space vehicles is subject to other natural laws.

Human activity in cosmic space is opening hitherto undreamed of prospects — not only for physical travel in space, and the collection of valuable data which will enrich human knowledge and contribute to progress on this planet — and this activity can also be distorted and abused, either for purposes of peacetime espionage, or for direct military action, in which the use of the latest sources of energy would entail mass destruction and biological extermination. This is why jurists consider that this matter should be regulated as soon as possible.

Even before the launching of the first satellite the jurists were making efforts to determine the legal status of space. Two primary questions arose in this context: to whom does space belong, and who exercises power of sovereignty in it.

The first question was soon eliminated, but the other, namely the question of the state sovereignty and its outward limits in space, remained. The three-dimensional extent of sovereignty, including altitude, was laid down first time in 1919 by the international conventions on Civil Aviation; this principle was entered in all subsequent conventions, and today represents a generally adopted principle of international law. But when the regulations were introduced for the first time no one even dreamed that this sovereignty might be limited in altitude. The regulation of air transport was in question, and there was no conception of introducing regulations which would apply to outer space. Confronted by the problem of the legal aspects of space, the legal Authorities logically took as their point of departure the provision of international law which unequivocally represents the recognition of state sovereignty in altitude. Jurists' opinions differ however, as to the extent of this sovereignty in altitude. Some think it extends as high as aircraft can fly. Others, interpreting the text of the convention literally, consider that sovereignty extends outward as far as the atmosphere, namely the gaseous mass surrounding the earth. Yet others consider that territorial sovereignty ceases with the limit of the force of gravity "because once outside of this zone, nothing can fall back onto the earth". None of these proposals constitutes an objective criterion, as no altitude limit has been set for aircraft flight, especially for airplanes with combined jet and rocket propulsion, nor is the proposal on the extent of the atmosphere satisfactory, because according to the data available at present, traces of gas can be found at altitudes from 150 to 60,000 miles. Neither is it possible to set a fixed limit for gravitation, owing to the effect of natural laws and the velocity of the space vehicle. Others, by drawing an analogy between territorial waters and the high seas, propose a horizontal zone of exclusive state sovereignty up to the maximum altitude reached by aircraft, and a superjacent territorial zone of up to 300 miles from the earth, where the inoffensive travel of space vehicles would be allowed while a zone of free activity would begin beyond it.

All these theories are based on the stratification of space, and on the application of different criteria, according to which the lower stratum are more or less subject to the regulation of the territorial state, whose jurisdiction ceases in the upper free stratum, for which eventually only a few technical regulations might be introduced. The main defect of all these schools of thought is that, being based on the stratification of space,





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they demand two different legal regimes for the single trajectory of a space vehicle, whose motion is alternately subjected to the rules of territorial sovereignty and that of complete „freedom“. There is no free space, in our opinion, in the sense that it may be used for any kind of activity, hence also such as might have a detrimental effect on the earth. Consequently, considering the motion of the space vehicle as a single trajectory irrespective of the strata it passes, such a motion requires a uniform regulation, based on the criterion of activity on earth (type of device, purpose of launching etc), as only this activity can be subjected to legal prescriptions, and afford a reasonable guarantee that human activity in space will be directed toward peaceful scientific objectives. It is difficult to determine the nature of a device once it has entered its orbit, or to undertake the necessary sanctions against it.

Very few authorities have based their proposals on the classical idea of absolute and exclusive territorial sovereignty without limits in space. Theoretically the solution seems very simple, but in practice such a conception would cause incredible legal confusion. Owing to the revolutions of the earth round its axis, round the sun, and together with the entire solar system, in space, the projection of territorial sovereignty into space would bring the same astral bodies under the sovereignty of different countries. The sovereignty of states cannot be guaranteed in this way, both owing to the impossibility of determining the breaches of sovereignty and because of the great distances involved and the velocity of the space vehicles. Besides, if the classical conception of territorial sovereignty were applied literally, the immense superjacent regions above the high seas would remain free, so that space vehicles above the high seas might constitute an equal danger for the security of states. Sovereignty in this sense is primarily an expression of the concern of states to ensure their security. Security from activity in space can only be achieved by the common efforts of all countries to regulate human activity in space and direct it exclusively to peaceful and scientific goals.

Artificial satellites were successfully launched during the International Geophysical Year. The relief was expressed in this connection that all countries taking part in this international scheme had given their previous consent to the movement of satellites above their territories, as their launching was announced in the programme. It was also stressed in certain circles that none of the countries protested when the satellites travelled over their territories, or that the satellites did not fly over their territories at all, but that the countries, owing to the earth's revolutions round its axis, came under the orbit of the satellite. Such conceptions, which appeared sporadically in the press and at discussions in various foreign legal associations, are unacceptable to say the least. It is necessary to regulate human activity in space, and this is of equal concern to all, as we are all equally interested in ensuring that this activity should be devoted exclusively to peaceful purposes. Co-operation within the framework of the International Geophysical Year was also conceived on this basis.

Contemplated from the earth, space is common property *res communis*, and according to the principle of sovereign equality proclaimed by the United Nations Charter, all coun-

tries are equally entitled to benefit by the results of human activities in space. Irrespective of the fact that so far only two countries have succeeded in acquiring the material and technical resources for the launching of space devices, the results achieved are based on the cumulative knowledge of mankind. Outer space by its nature is not *res nullius*; it cannot be arrogated by anyone, nor does it offer any priority of rights to the first comer. Neither can the activities which are taking place in space be considered free, in view of the effect they may have on the earth.

In the technical sense (according to reports in the daily press) the equipment for the launching of space vehicles is identical, with minor technical adjustments, to the equipment for the launching of long range guided missiles. Hence the strong interconnection between space vehicles and the problem of disarmament, apart from the possibility of using space vehicles directly for military purposes.

This is one reason more why peace-loving people attribute such exceptional importance to the exclusive use of space for peaceful purposes, because in spite of the satisfaction of being witnesses of such spectacular achievements of the human mind and technical skill, we are concerned lest these achievements be used against the interests of mankind.

On the international plane the problem of the peaceful use of cosmic space was approached for the first time at the XIth session of the UN General Assembly, and the problem of the peaceful use of outer space was placed on the agenda of its Political Committee. This question was discussed in the second half of November, and the discussions marked a rapprochement of views as expressed in the revised resolutions of the USSR and USA, on whose initiative this problem was also entered on the agenda of this year's General Assembly. Both sides agreed that the peaceful aspect of cosmic space could be treated separately from the military aspect of its use. The greatest difficulty arose in connection with the composition of the Preparatory Committee for the study of these questions, as it was not possible to reach a compromise on this seemingly formal issue, and co-operation was not established in this phase between the two countries that had launched space vehicles.

Essentially the situation reflects the world division into blocs, but the significance which is being attributed to the exclusive use of space for peaceful purposes is yet another proof of the necessity to adopt and apply the policy of active and peaceful co-existence, which is the sole means of reaching a successful and lasting solution of this problem. The legal regulation of the use of space and human activity in space requires preliminary political agreement, as well as the need of an appropriate atmosphere for the implementation of such an agreement.

In spite of these difficulties, it is an encouraging circumstance that the problem of the peaceful use of space has been placed before the United Nations, which provides the most suitable place for the discussion of views and the devising of practicable solutions. We therefore hope that this problem, in which mankind is vitally interested, will at last find an appropriate solution.

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# The Idea and Aims of Pan Africanism

R. KOZARAC

THE African solidarity conference in Accra has vividly confirmed that the ideas and aims of Pan-Africanism are no longer a remote or unattainable ideal. This also means that the inexorable march of time and socio-political progress have not by-passed the African continent which was referred to and considered, until very recently, several centuries behind the other parts of the world not only on the economic and cultural, but also on the political plane. It seems, moreover, that we are witnessing the historical moment which will mark the incorporation of Africa as an active and equal member into the international community.

The Conference in Accra which in a certain sense symbolizes the national and political awakening of Africa, just as in its time the Bandung Conference became synonymous for the struggle for the five principles of coexistence, has a twofold pre-history. Although there are two components, they actually represent two integral parts of a single process:

*The Negation of Colonialism:* Although the positions of the colonial powers in certain parts of the world, especially in Africa should not be underrated, it may nonetheless be rightly affirmed that as a socio-historical phenomenon colonialism is already a thing of the past. Contemplated historically, the twentieth century will mark the end of colonialism and the downfall of the great colonial powers. This process was particularly obvious during the first post-war decade in Asia whose vast regions were the inviolable property of the European monopolies throughout the centuries. The remains of colonialism on the political map of Asia have already shrunk to a few isolated points which will not be able to resist the upsurge of the anti-colonial tide for any longer period of time. This process which is almost completed in Asia, is now gaining ever stronger momentum in Africa. Once begun, nobody will be able to stop it, and the already frequent changes in the ratio of dependent and independent countries on this continent will one day mark the end of colonialism as a world system.

*Affirmation of the Idea of Independence:* Experience has shown that there are different ways and means of acquiring one's independence, but that there is one thing in common, namely the aspiration

of the dependent countries to become the masters of their own fate. There is certainly a difference between Ethiopia and Ghana, or Tunisia and Guinea for example as regards the ways in which they won their present status of independent international subjects, and the road to freedom will continue to differ also in the future; this will depend on the specific position of every African country. Nonetheless, progressive nationalism will continue to be the motive force which will sooner or later lead to complete political and socio-economic emancipation. Therefore the idea of independence is also evident in Algeria and Kenya in which the liberation war is being waged on different scales, as well as in the Cameroons, Togoland and Nigeria to whom 1960 will bring freedom from foreign domination.

The initiative for the Conference in Accra was given by the representatives of the independent African countries which have already convened in that city. Never before did the representatives of all the African peoples, namely their national, political, trade union and other movements (over 300 delegates from 62 movements) convene in so great a number. Aware of the historical significance of the occasion, united their aspirations they declared themselves resolutely against all types of colonialism and imperialism. Although endorsing the struggle of the countries which have risen in arms for the conquest of their independence, the African leaders urged the adoption of peaceful means of liberation. While appealing to France, Great Britain, Belgium, Portugal, and Spain

to withdraw from African soil, they also submitted an appeal to the United Nations to endorse the right of the African peoples to their national individuality. One of the most impressive and politically most significant ideas formulated in Accra consisted in the concept of strengthening the unity of the African peoples, which also received a concrete formulation in the decision of Ghana and Guinea to approach the creation of the United States of Africa. The fact that these movements will take place outside of the given bloc limits, on the basis of independence and non-alignment with any power group, invests them with a special significance. These factors were also expressed in the resolutions of the Conference, while the decision to implement them consistently was confirmed by the creation of the Permanent Secretariat of the All-African Conference with its headquarters in Accra.

We are living at a time when Europe and the other parts of the world which have assumed the right to be called civilised should understand at last that Africa is becoming a subject of international policy and that it would be better for the international community if the liberation of the remaining three fifths of Africans still under alien yoke would evolve faster and less painfully. The support of the ideas formulated at Accra would doubtless contribute in this respect; far from being charity towards the peoples of Africa this would constitute the repayment of a debt to which they are long since entitled, this time in their own interest and the interest of mankind as a whole.

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# The "ELEKTROSRBIJA" and its Role in the Electrification of Yugoslavia

THE „Elektrosrbija“ enterprise for the design, construction and production of electric industrial equipment, power transmission and transport equipment was founded in Belgrade at the beginning of 1950.

Immediately after its establishment „Elektrosrbija“ assumed extensive and important tasks, especially in the field of transmission and distribution of electric power, as it was necessary to link up all the existing and newly-built hydroelectric and thermal plants on the territory of Serbia, and in Yugoslavia as a whole, into a single grid. Having accomplished these and similar tasks within a relatively short time, „Elektrosrbija“ soon became one of the leading enterprises in this branch, while its activities and successes also earned it an enviable reputation abroad.

„Elektrosrbija's“ first task was the construction of transmission lines and transformer stations, and its initial successes in this field led to the construction of an electrical equipment factory in Ripanj, near Belgrade. Meanwhile the basic activities of the enterprise, namely the design and construction of transmission lines of all tensions, the electrification of urban and rural areas, the assembly and installation of industrial and power generating plants, the construction of all types of power transmission pylons etc., steadily continued. Over 300 kilometers of 220 KV transmission lines have been

built so far, as well as 200 kilometers of 110 KV and 2500 kilometers of 35 KV lines. The Engineering and Design Bureau of „Elektrosrbija“ has drawn up 697 various reports, studies and plans for the construction of transmission lines, and industrial and other electric engineering projects. The new type of steel-latticed transmission line pylon with counter weights designed by „Elektrosrbija“ has yielded highly satisfactory results. This type of pylon received honourable mention at the 1958 session of „CIGRE“ in Paris. „Elektrosrbija“ submitted an estimate for the construction of transmission lines in the Lebanon, and won the contract in the face of strong foreign competition. „Elektrosrbija“ also drew up the plans for the 100 KV transmission line over the Danube river near Vinča, with a span of 1050 meters, the line crossing the Sava river near Belgrade with a span of 650 meters, and the Novi Sad — Subotica transmission line which crosses the Danube near Novi Sad, and has an identical span.

The Bistrica — Beograd III transmission line, which is over 200 kilometers long and has a tension of 220 KV, should also be mentioned. The „Elektrosrbija“ type pylon with counter-weights will be erected on this line. The Engineering Bureau has also completed plans for the new electric power grid in the Belgrade district and the necessary connections with the 220 and 110 KV plants, a po-



wer supply system for trams and trolley-buses, distributor plants of 35 and 10 KV, a closed low voltage cable network, and remote-control and signalling apparatus.

Significant results have also been achieved in the construction of transformer sub-stations, so that there is hardly a place in Serbia which is without a transformer sub-station built by „Elektrosrbija“. The activities of „Elektrosrbija“ in this field are best illustrated by the fact that over 150 transformer sub-stations of 25 and 110 KV were built during the period under review.

As we are not in a position to give a more detailed survey of activities in other fields (electrification of urban and rural settlements, construction of power lines, installation of power generating and distributing equipment etc.) owing to lack of space, we shall only mention that „Elektrosrbija“ also carried out the installation of the complete power plant and a good part of the machine plant in the new „Viskoza“ factory in Loznica. The complete electrical equipment of the Sevojno Copper Rolling Mills and the Kolubara coal drying plant was also installed by „Elektrosrbija“.

„Elektrosrbija“ has also taken part in the construction of investment projects abroad, and built the feeding tunnel, water basin, aqueduct, and bridge over the Barada river at the Souk Wadi Batada hydroelectric project in Syria.



When, scarcely three years after its establishment, „Elektrosrbija“ became one of the leading collectives in Yugoslavia, the Workers Council and Managing Board of the enterprise decided to build a factory of electrical equipment in Ripanj, near Belgrade. Today this factory is a thriving concern, and one of the leading projects of its kind in the country.

In its first year the enterprise had a gross production of approximately one billion dinars, while the present gross production reaches several billion dinars annually. Comparison of the growth of the labour force employed and the gross production, shows that the increased percentage of the gross production from year to year far exceeds the increased number of persons employed. This testifies to the fact that the work of „Elektrosrbija“ is organized on sound economic foundations, and that the quality of its products is at an enviable level. Needless to say, „Elektrosrbija“ has a large and efficient staff of engineers and technicians, with over 50 of the former and 70 of the latter employed in one branch of the enterprise alone.

The „Elektrosrbija“ factory produces various electrical equipment, such as:

Three-pole indoor circuit breakers for nominal tensions of 10 and 35 KV, and nominal current 200 and 400 A with or without ground plates. Three-pole outdoor circuit breakers for tensions of 10 KV, current 200 A. One-pole line circuit breakers and outdoor signal fuses 10 KV, current 2, 4, 6, 10, 15, 20 and 30 A. Circuit breakers made by the Ripanj factory have been exported to Burma and East Germany.

Small oil content high tension three-pole indoor automatic interruptors, for nominal tensions of 6, 10, 15 and 35 KV, nominal current 500 and 600 A, hand-powered and electromagnetically, pneumatically and motor-powered.

One-pole high tension indoor fuses with cartridges for tensions of 10 and 35 KV, and current of 2, 4, 6, 10, 15, 20 and 30 A.

Serially produced columned transformer sub-stations with steel-latticed pylons for tensions of 6, 10 and 15/04 KV, current 10, 20, 30, 50 and 100KVA, armoured cells as well as urban armoured transformer sub-stations of 10/04 KV to 630 KVA.

Outdoor cathode overload conductors for tensions of 0.5, 6, 10, 15, 20, 30 and 35 KV, nominal conducting capacity 5 KA as well as VOP type valve-tension overload conductors.

Serially produced efficiency condensers for tensions of 380 V 50 HZ. Efficiency condensers for other low and high voltages of up to 35 KV are also delivered according to specification.

Electrical equipment for tramcars and mining railways. Trolley-buses built with the co-operation of the „Goša“ Factory in Smederevska Palanka and „Sever“ in Subotica.

Control panels and switchboards of all types, for industry and electric power plants.

High tension switches of 110 kV and MA 1—3 switches for electric traction vehicles.

This short selection of the products of the Ripanj factory illustrates the immense progress made by this plant within a very short time. In view of the fact that the need for its expansion is being felt of late, its development is all the more spectacular.

This describes, briefly, the activities and development of the „Elektrosrbija“ enterprise, which has developed from a small and modest collective into a significant economic factor. „Elektrosrbija“ is continuing to develop, and is acquiring an increasingly distinguished reputation both at home and abroad.





## Cultural Co-operation with foreign Countries

Marija KIRIĆ

IN THE LAST few months Yugoslav art has made important steps towards drawing the people of the whole world closer together. These manifestations of Yugoslav art abroad have followed from a good beginning in co-operative and systematic presentation of our present-day cultural richness.

### LITERATURE

There has been no lack of translation and publishing of the works of our writers in foreign languages recently. This month, for example, a translation of Miroslav Krleža's novel, "The Return of Filip Latinović", appeared in Poland and was very well received, and the first edition of the book is already nearly sold out. On this occasion, the Polish press wrote that co-operation was beginning to improve between Polish publishers and Yugoslav authors, and mentioned that in the last two years about fifteen Yugoslav literary works had been translated and published in Poland. This month the following were also published abroad: "Chronicle of Travnik" by Ivo Andrić (in Czechoslovakia), "The Deaf Cave" by Dušan Kostić (in Bulgaria), "The Break" by Mihailo Lalić (in Czechoslovakia).

The London publishing-house "Lincolns Prager" will publish a total of twelve literary works by our present-day authors, among them "Chronicle of Travnik" by Ivo Andrić, "The Return of Filip Latinović" by Miroslav Krleža, "The Springtime of Ivan Galeb" by Vladan Desnica, and "The Vacation" by Aleksandar Vučo. Some of these books have already appeared.

Without doubt the most translated Yugoslav classic writer today is Nušić. The Leningrad Section of the State Publishing Enterprise for artistic literature recently brought out a volume of his collected works, and also published in a special edition the comedy "The Bereaved Family". Several works by Nušić, Ingolić, Lalić and Krleža have appeared in Czech and Bulgarian, and "The Song" by Davičo has been published in a German translation. It is interesting to note that the works of Ivo Andrić have been translated into Chinese, Hungarian, Czech, Slovak, Italian, German, French, Polish, Russian, Bulgarian, English and Hindustani.

### MUSICAL PERFORMANCES

In the field of music we may take as an example the Belgrade Opera, which will give guest performances in January next year in the famous opera house "Teatro La Fenice" in Venice. This outstanding ensemble appeared this year for the fifth time as guest at the Wiesbaden Festival, while the Opera-Ballet ensemble was at the Dutch Festival for the first time, and after their debut in Holland received an invitation for next year. The Opera and Ballet were guests at the Brussels International Exhibition, where they gained success even when the performances of the Ballets of the Bolshoi Theatre and of the Marquis de Cuevas — artistic events of world importance — were to be seen. Members of the opera and ballet ensembles from Ljubljana gave guest performances in Graz this year with great success. The "Za-

greb Soloists" are famous and greatly demanded today by the public throughout the world. This compact and fine musical group was heard this year in the USA, Canada, Austria, West Germany, France, the USSR, Switzerland and other countries. The Zagreb Soloists are so heavily engaged for performances abroad that tickets for their rare concerts in Yugoslavia are immediately sold out.

It is impossible to cite all the examples of guest performances of solo artists abroad, but the fact that our artists make world tours more and more frequently proves that they are warmly received and in great demand.

### THEATRE

Besides the musical ensembles, drama groups have also given guest performances abroad. This Spring the Serbian National Theatre from Novi Sad presented to the Polish public the modern national play "The Heavenly Battalion" by Lebović and Obrenović, Ivo Vojnović's play "The Masquerade below Kupanj" and Jovan Sterija Popović's "Pumpkin-head". Especially striking was the success of "The Heavenly Battalion", about which the critic of "Warsaw Life" wrote that it is certainly the best play dealing with a concentration camp that has yet appeared.

One of the great triumphs of Yugoslav art is that the Moscow "Stanislavski-Dančenko" Theatre has added to its repertoire "The Legend of Ohrid" by the Yugoslav composer Stevan Hristić (who died recently), and another is the performance of Držić's "Dundo Maroje" with an English cast, in Coventry.

### PAINTING

Our painters this year were represented at the greatest art exhibitions in the world. Among a hundred of the greatest modern painters represented in the Brussels Palace of Art were Ivan Generalić, Krsto Hegedušić and Petar Lubarda, who were selected by an international jury. At the Venice Biennale this year our artists were also prominent.

The last stop on the triumphant tour around the world of our medieval frescoes from the Bogorodica Ljeviška church in Prizen was Ohio in the USA.

Another set of these frescoes has recently travelled to Japan and been seen by art lovers in various cities in that country.

During this autumn and winter our artists will give other exhibitions in Moscow, New Delhi, New York and Zürich.

### FILMS

This year our films, through exchange and sale, extended from America to Japan, and even reached Australia for the first time.

Up to now Yugoslav films have been shown in 32 countries. In the first half of 1958 Yugoslav films were seen by audiences in nine countries, including Japan, which bought Yugoslav films for the first time this year. Yugoslav films have also been bought by Argentinians, Belgians, Czechoslo-



vakians, Chinese, Hungarians, Mexicans, East Germans, West Germans, Poles, Rumanians, Americans, Russians. The greatest number of short films have been exported to Britain, West Germany, France, the USSR, Austria and Czechoslovakia. 186 licences (45 films) were sold for our feature films.

This year our film industry accepted invitations and took part in 23 international film festivals, the most important of which were those in Cannes, Venice, Karlove Vari, Brussels and Berlin. Foreign film experts respect the Yugoslav industry, and have even invited its representatives to take part in the new film festival which will take place in San Francisco this year for the first time.

It is interesting that among about twenty films selected for the London festival is the feature film „H-8“, and the documentary „Petar Dobrović“. This year there have been successful showings of the films „Big and Small“ in the Canadian town of Stratford, „Valley of Peace“ in Vancouver, and of „Pastor Cira and Pastor Spira“ and „Moments of Decision“ in the Australian capital, Melbourne.

It is expected that Yugoslav Film Weeks, such as have already been held (such a week was held this year in Po-

land), will be organized by our film industry in India, Italy and Norway.

We have never been nearer to a great international film award than we were this year in Brussels. There were voices among the members of the jury and in the Belgian press in favour of giving Vladimir Pogačić's film „Saturday Evening“ a prize (scenario by Dragoslav Ilić). There were also definite opinions that our actor Milan Srdoč, who played the doctor in the second episode of „Saturday Evening“ should have been considered for the prize which was eventually awarded to Orson Welles. An increased interest in Yugoslavia is also shown by producers, of whom many have made films in Yugoslavia with such directors as Dieterle, Latuarda, the photographer Renoir, and with the film stars Silvana Mangano, Antonella Lualdi, Karla del Poggio, Van Heflin and others.

There is no branch of Yugoslav art which is not worthy to be presented to the foreign public. In former years the greatest interest was shown in our folklore ensemble „Kolo“ and in our cultural traditions, but now artistic groups and soloists of all kinds who visit a country for the first time are invited to pay return visits. The interpreters of present-day Yugoslav arts have done enough to ensure that our art may take its place in the international field.

## Official Statements

# Yugoslav Attitude on...

*The official spokesman of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs held press conferences for Yugoslav and foreign newsmen on December 6 and 13 at which he stated the Yugoslav attitudes on the matters brought up on that occasion.*

December 6

**PRESIDENT TITO'S TRIP.** „The visit of President Tito to some countries of Asia and Africa will be yet another contribution to the affirmation of the principle of active and peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems, the strengthening of all-round mutual, co-operation and the consolidation of world peace. By his present trip to Indonesia President Tito is returning the visit made in 1956 by President Sukarno of Indonesia to this country. President Tito will also pay official visits to Ceylon and the Sudan in response to the already previously accepted invitations, and will also visit India, Burma, Ethiopia and the United Arab Republic.

**THE STATUS OF BERLIN.** We have contemplated the proposal of the Soviet Government as an initiative for the solution of this problem. We consider it a positive fact, that the Soviet Note is proposing negotiations for the settlement of a problem, namely a situation which has become abnormal and which obviously appears in a different light today owing to the development of events than when the respective instruments were concluded.

**DISLOYAL DECLARATIONS.** Asked whether he has any comment on that part of the joint declaration of the Czechoslovak and Bulgarian government and party delegations, which refer to Yugoslavia the official spokesman replied: „I can only say that also on this occasion recourse was taken to

the unusual practice of using the joint declarations of government and party delegations of the socialist countries as a vehicle for anti-Yugoslav attacks“.

**THE ANTI-YUGOSLAV CAMPAIGN.** „In normal communication between states it is customary, inter alia, that articles written in connection with National Holidays be written in a friendly tone. It is truly regrettable that the articles in connection with the Yugoslav National Holiday published in some countries of the socialist camp have not been in that spirit, but actually constitute attacks on Yugoslavia. It is obvious that such articles do not reflect the wish for good mutual relations“.

**BREACH OF STATE TREATY:** „The respective additional Writ indirectly confirms that the measures undertaken against the Slovene schools were actually directed against the rights of the Slovene national minority. The second Writ in no way changed the essence of the problem nor in any way whatever improved the status of the minority but only proved that the reaction of the Slovene minority in Carinthia and of the Yugoslav Government is well-founded and justified“, answered the Foreign Secretariat spokesman.

**VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT KARDELJ:** Asked whether he has anything to say in connection with the statement of the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs that Vice President Edvard Kardelj will visit Sweden next year the official spokes-



man an invitation to visit Sweden which he accepted with pleasure.

**TRADE TALKS WITH ITALY** : „Trade talks were opened in Rome on December 3. A favourable outcome of these negotiations is expected in view of the mutual interest that prevails and the objective possibilities for the further promotion of economic relations between the two countries.

December 13

**THE ACCRA CONFERENCE**: „This Conference is doubtless an expression of the ever stronger desire of the peoples of the African continent for general emancipation, independence and equal rights. In our opinion the Conference is invested with a deep significance for the future development of the African peoples and their struggle for a corresponding co-equal position in the world of today. The Conference will contribute to the strengthening of those progressive tendencies and forces in Africa which are struggling for independence, peace and active international co-operation“, stated the Foreign Secretariat spokesman in reply to a journalists' query.

**THE COMMON MARKET**: The next Question referred to the imminent coming into effect of the Common Market Treaty as well as the implications the creation of this market may have for Yugoslav trade with its member countries. „We are not yet in a position“, stated the official spokesman, „to give a definite appraisal of the practical effect the latest decision of the Ministers Council of the European Economic Community will have on Yugoslav trade with that area, although certain adverse effects may already be discerned, towards which, of course, we cannot remain indifferent“.

**EVENTUAL MEETING OF FERHAT ABBAS WITH GENERAL DE GAULLE**: „We think that the proposal of Mr Ferhat Abbas should be accepted as soon as possible. The continuance

of the war only imposes unnecessary hardships and sacrifices on both sides. We consider, as we have already stated on several occasions, that talks between the representatives of the F.L.N. and the French Government are indispensable for the settlement of the Algerian problem.

**CHEN YI'S OUTBURST**: Requested to comment the recent outburst of the Chinese Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Chen-yi who denounced President Tito in a very coarse and offensive manner at a reception given in Peking in honour of the delegation of the temporary Algerian government, the official spokesman stated: „The statement of the Chinese Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Chen-yi is one of the most brutal attacks by the Chinese leaders on Yugoslavia so far. In view of the occasion chosen for the speech, it seems that the prime objective of this outburst was to discredit Yugoslavia in the eyes of her friends in Asia and Africa“.

**THE ANTI-YUGOSLAV CAMPAIGN IN ALBANIA**... „The President of the Albanian Parliament continued the harmful practice of the other Albanian leaders who are profiting by every occasion to aggravate mutual relations and poison the atmosphere in this part of the world by further attacks on Yugoslavia.

...**AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA**. We do not have the authentic text of the speech delivered by the Czechoslovak Vice-Premier Kopecki. The alleged part of the speech referred to in Reuters report and those of some other foreign agencies has not included in the version published in the paper „Rude Pravo“. However, as far as we know, the version published by Reuters and some other foreign papers has not been denied, „answered the official spokesman when asked whether he has anything to say in connection with the report of Reuters and some French newspapers according to which Kopecki called President Tito a „traitor“ and „imperialists servant“ who will be „obliterated“ in his speech at the Congress of the Peoples Socialist Party.

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ON November 10, 1948 the United Nations General Assembly presented and proclaimed the General Declaration on Human Rights. After this historical act, the General Assembly invited the member countries to publish the text of the Declaration and „see to it that it be promulgated, reviewed, read, and explained especially in schools and other educational institutions in all countries and territories irrespective of political status“. Yugoslavia was one of the countries which wholeheartedly endorsed the adoption of this historical document. Work on the promulgation of the General Declaration on Human Rights in Yugoslavia developed on a vast scale, and formed part of those efforts in the sphere of social and political movements which are directed not only the complete fulfilment of the principles of the Declaration, but also to the investing of human rights with a new and still wider meaning, this being particularly manifest in the development of workers' management and the system of local self-government.

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## Political Diary

**December 1** — President Tito left Belgrade on an official visit to Indonesia and some other friendly countries of Asia and Africa. The President was seen off at Belgrade station by a great number of high state and political officials. The group who left with the President of the Republic consisted of Ivan Maček, member of the National Assembly, Slobodan Penezić member of the FEC, Veljko Mićunović, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Leo Mates, the President's general secretary. Blažo Jovanović, President of the National Assembly of Montenegro, who is also a member of the delegation, will join President Tito during his journey.

**December 2.** — Under the presidency of Rodoljub Čolaković, vice-president of FEC, the first meeting of the Educational Council of Yugoslavia was held in Belgrade. Speaking about the tasks and role of the Educational Council, Rodoljub Čolaković stressed that the practical realization of school reforms is one of the most important tasks of the Educational Council of Yugoslavia.

**December 3.** — The Federal Executive Council decided that Edvard Kardelj, Vice-President of FEC, should replace the President of the Republic during his absence.

**December 3.** — The Board of the Central Council of the Yugoslav Trade Unions held a session to discuss the draft plan on minimum personal incomes of workers in economic organizations, and concluded that the proposed way of dividing these incomes would correct the present inequality in salaries in economy. At the end of the session it was decided that the Trade Union Congress should be held on April 23.

**December 5.** — President Tito arrived in Port Said, where he was met and greeted by President Nasser. On the occasion of this short and cordial meeting, the two statesmen exchanged views on the world political situation.

**December 8.** — The Board of the Central Committee of the People's Youth of Yugoslavia formed a committee to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the Union of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia. The president of the committee is Slavko Komar, member of FEC, and the secretary, Latinka Perović, member of the Board of the Central Committee of the People's Youth of Yugoslavia.

**December 10.** — On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the General Declaration on Human Rights a meeting was held in Belgrade. In a speech on Human Rights' Day by Vladimir Simić, president of the Union of UN Associations of Yugoslavia, he said that Human Rights Day meant to this country the strengthening of the aims of freedom and peace, to which our peoples are deeply devoted.

## Diplomatic Chronicle

**December 4.** — Edvard Kardelj, Vice-President of FEC, received a farewell visit from the former ambassador of the People's Republic of Mongolia, Dašin Adilbiša.

**December 6.** — Koča Popović, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, received a farewell visit from the Mongolian Ambassador Dašin Adilbiša.

**December 10.** — The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs received a farewell visit from the Iranian Minister in Yugoslavia, Abdul Husein Mejkadeh. On this occasion

the Secretary of State invested the Iranian Minister with the Order of the Yugoslav Banner first class, which the President of the Republic had awarded him.

**December 10.** — The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs received Farid Habib, newly-appointed Lebanese Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Yugoslavia who handed him his credentials. Farid Habib is the first Lebanese Ambassador to Yugoslavia to take up his permanent residence in Belgrade, former Lebanese Ambassadors to Yugoslavia having always resided in Athens.

## Our New Contributors

BOGDAN CRNOBRNJA, Assistant Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, member of the Federal Council of the Socialist Workers' Union of Yugoslavia, and of the League of War-Disabled of Yugoslavia. He was formerly a member of the Federal Assembly, and Assistant in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 1955 to 1958 he held the position of Yugoslav Ambassador in Italy.

LJUBOMIR VELJKOVIĆ, editor of „Ekonomika Politika“, worked on the Commission for agrarian reform and colonization in the Ministry of Agriculture, and has written many pamphlets on agrarian policy.

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